4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pillí* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenechen*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenechen*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the power of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

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belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of canelo, their sacred tree. To their influence were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Antúkinchaw* (fruit of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Ngurumilla, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huenllipangi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chonchonyi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Housse, 1939, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caciques after death dwelt in volcanos or in the stars or the Milky Way; sorcerers, in caves or in the depths of volcanos; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caciques could revisit the living in the form of large blue flies.

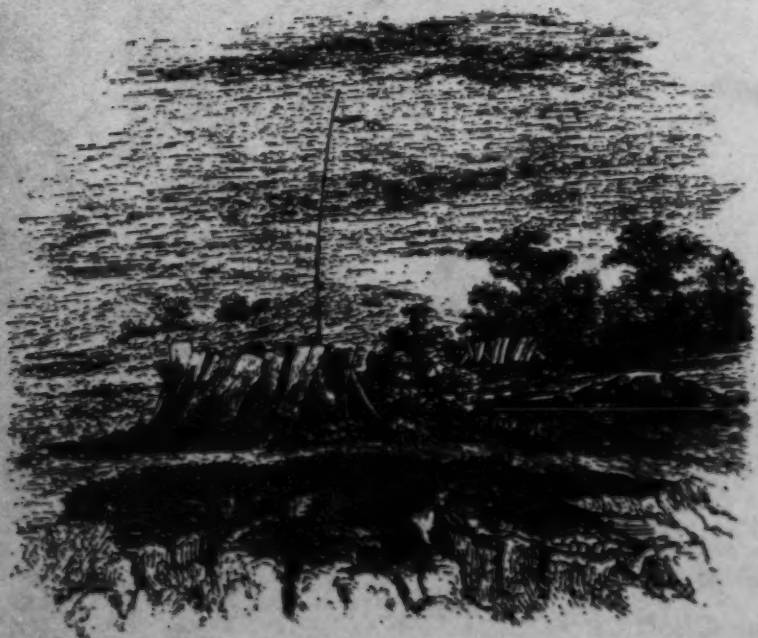

FIGURE 80.—*Mapuche* grave, with upright lance and fencing of roughhewn boards. (After Smith, 1855, p. 227.)

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collŏn: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and premiated as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ɣillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1062–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ɣenéchen, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Maregrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sers (1921, p. 134), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Maregrav (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

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aboriginal elements end and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the treq treq flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, treq treq and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did treq treq raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1913; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Cheurfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1905–07, especially 94:100–20, 243–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 99–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1938.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 93), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to *Pillañ* or *wekufü*. 821 ●

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of diseases and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aberti- 824 757

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are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Araucanian custom.

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewunyi (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as mulekümewunyi.

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Pangipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

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the beginning of a new moon, it will rain until full moon; but from full moon to no moon, then, one can expect fair weather." Weather was not predicted by activities of birds or other animals, "but sometimes when we go to the storm to do some buying, we hear them say that the weather is going to be unsettled, or so; persons there have read the newspapers." The bull roarer (*rugrun*) was not used to produce rain; it was merely a toy (pp. 105-106).

NATURAL PHENOMENA

It is believed that wind causes lightning and that thunder is God's way of letting people know that He has been offended. The thunderbird was not known to informants. According to Cooper's sources of the first half of the seventeenth century (1946, p. 747), dramatic catastrophic phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder, lightning, river floods, and tidal waves, were consistently associated with pillañ. An association exists today between volcanoes, thunder and pillañ. "Both volcanoes and thunder are called pillañ," said an old man. "One of our horses was born perfectly white," said another informant, "just like the volcano Lanin is white [snow-covered] and so we called the horse Pillañ. As a little boy I traveled to Argentina with my father. As we rode along he pointed at every vicano and called each pillañ."

Schmidtlein knew of no significance attached to isolated stars, constellations, or the Milky Way. An Alapüe woman in her forties called the morning star *wüta yuñi*. "We have no beliefs about the morning star, except that when it can be seen we know dawn is nearly here." The Milky Way, called *rupüpeyen*, she had heard spoken of as a bridge in the sky. According to Cooper's sources, it was the heavenly river, or the road of the "fairies" (1946, p. 753). The Alapüe woman called Orion *wüllonkintu*, a word which Félix José records as perhaps denoting the Southern Cross (1916, vol. 1, p. 251).

An eclipse of the sun caused something undesirable, such as war or the death of an important person—"a person like the president of Chile." The 100-year-old Collonlipi man stated that everyone was frightened when there was an eclipse of the sun: "We feared the end of the world was not far off, but we did nothing about it; everyone sat very quiet until it was over with." According to Cooper, an eclipse of both sun and moon was spoken of as its death (1946, p. 753). An eclipse of the moon, according to most informants, had no significance. "No one was afraid of an eclipse of the moon; in fact, we barely took notice of it for people were asleep when it oc-

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curred." A Panguipulli man, however, had heard old people say, when the moon was being eclipsed, that an arasnko, a large green-striped toad, was swallowing up the moon. Arasnko live in Panguipulli area. 821 ●

DIRECTIONS

Although the Araucanian language has words for north (pikn), east (tripawe antü), south (waiwen or willimapu), and west (kuxüwe antü), informants seldom used the words for east and west; anything east was spoken of as being in the Cordillera; anything west, as on or at or near the coast (Pacific). North and south were used when speaking of winds blowing from these directions: a north wind was piknkürəf; a south wind, waiwenkürəf; but a wind from the east is pueiche kürəf (wind from the Pueiche, Araucanians living in Argentina) or nagpa kürəf (wind that comes from the heights, the Cordillera); and a wind from the west is l'afkem kürəf (wind from the ocean, the Pacific). 821 823

Places in Alepún area were usually located by being spoken of as being near a river, a ravine, a ruka of so-and-so, on a peninsula, or in a certain valley; those in Cofiaripe, as being over one or two mountain ridges; in a certain valley where so-and-so lived; near or in the araucaria groves; on a lake; or on the highway (recently built by a Chilean-Argentine lumber company). 823

SIGNALING

A 100-year-old man had been told by his grandfather that he (the grandfather) and other men had used the pifulka (whistle) (pl. 38, *c-g*, *6*; pp. 99, 146) to notify the Araucanians that the Spanish soldiers were on the way and that the men were to assemble at certain previously designated places to defend themselves. In pre-Spanish days, and ever since, the pifulka has been blown by individual men as they ride horseback to the pilmatun to let others know, thereby, that they are already on their way. 202 534

Alepún area fishermen, when on the Pacific, signal to each other, when an unexpected fog or strong wind overtakes them, with a kulkull, a bugle made by cutting an inch off the pointed end of a cow's horn or a seashell, or with a kuqkul, when no kulkull is available. (Cf. p. 99 for the making of a kuqkul). The sounds of a cow's horn carry farther than do those of a seashell. Every boat (there may be as many as 20) knows the signal of every other boat, and everyone knows who is in each boat. Everyone then counts the kulkulls as they are blown and will know if all boats are safe. If no boats are out and

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onions, chili, garlic, and occasionally corn, radishes, and tomatoes. Garden herbs used in seasoning are peppermint (yerba buena) and native mints, orégano, and tomillo. The man or older son generally prepares the soil of the garden. The woman does the planting and directs older daughters, and sometimes younger sons and daughters who are old enough, in assisting her. Helpers may lay claim to parts of the garden and take the responsibility for them. "Small children will point out patches of potatoes, carrots, onions, etc.," said a teacher, "and will say, 'They belong to me: I planted them.'" Until the garden has sprouted, small girls, and sometimes boys too, must be on the alert to chase away the small green parrots, which also infest wheat fields at seeding time. Generally school-age children weed and hoe the garden with the help of the mother; or if the mother is incapacitated, her husband will take over.

Those who believe that wheat should be planted at the waning of the moon believe that potatoes and gardens should be planted at that time, also. Quoting a 50-year-old Cañaripe man: "No, the effect does not lie in the earth; most certainly the earth is always the same; the effect lies in the moon. I follow the old custom, but, in truth, I do not have much faith in planting with the moon."

Nearly every household has adopted items of European horticulture. Rarely is a ruka seen that does not have one or more apple trees; an occasional one has a cherry, pear, or peach tree. Gooseberry bushes also were seen occasionally. There were flowers in nearly every garden and often along fences or walls of rukas. A Cañaripe family had a fenced-in flower garden that had been planted by the seven children of the family. It contained dahlias, hollyhocks, sweetpeas, bachelor buttons, pansies, daisies, and sunflowers. Seeds of vegetables and flowers were obtained at Mission stations, or bought at Chilean stores, or had been harvested from one's own or a relative's or friend's garden. Shade trees near rukas were often native pine trees, but a few houses had a eucalyptus or a chestnut tree, seeds of both having been brought into the areas in recent years by Europeans. (Pl. 21, *i*.)

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS, GRAZING

According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 703-705) domesticated animals in the early days were the dog, used in hunting; the llama; maybe the guinea pig; and in the south, the guanaco. The llama was bred for its wool and to serve as a pack animal; it was used, also, in payment of the bride price and as a sacrifice in religious ceremonials. Its meat was eaten only at important social or religious feasts. Neither

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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine. 233

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepin woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, 3). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka. 235 [852]

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his barks sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is chased out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!" 231

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "nuh" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

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805 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a küyen (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 8.—*Divisions of the day, according to Kolopan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Approximate hours
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	dawn(s) until
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	sun pulls
"The morning"	8AM
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	dawn(s) regi until
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	regi until
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	kellu until
"The sun is departing, that is about 3 o'clock on the clock"	nehen until
"The sun is disappearing"	dawn(s) kuidaw until
"The sun has disappeared"	kuidaw until
"The light that lingers after sunset"	pigke
"It is getting dark"	dark

asked their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "There is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, in men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wiñoipantu (or, according to Kolopan, thereof wiñoipantu, "the trees begin to leaf"); wedan (south sun, "the trees the fruit ripens best"); trafquiñn (or, according to Kolopan, afu tun, "fruit has ripened"); pukeun (rain and snow).

PERCEPTION OF WEATHER

821 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the

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Andes, and also in high or low valleys; in either there are differentiating factors. Kolupan, for example, knew the weather forecast for November for the specific area of San Martín de los Andes, in which he lived: a windy day followed by showers at night brought a clear day; during any clear night frost could be expected; on nights when the stars twinkle "like the morning sun on hoarfrost on a moving twig," and all the stars are bright, frost is certain to come. Formerly, rain followed by a thunderstorm could be expected when the people heard the crying of Oké (cf. pp. 321-322). "Those were the days when we still heard Oké." A 60-year-old informant had been told by her grandfather, when she was still a child, that from the mountainside on which he lived he could see a tree in Lake Lacar. He knew that if the tree stood erect, fair weather would prevail; if it swayed, windy weather or snow was in the offing.

In general, however, a very red moon forecasts hot weather; black clouds, rain; white clouds, snow and cold. A rainbow in line with the Cordillera—that is, in the west—forecasts bad weather; opposite the Cordillera, good weather.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

A rainbow, as stated above, forecasts weather, depending on its position. An eclipse of the moon or the sun predicts war, hunger, and want, usually in a distant country. Kolupan observed that the last three wars had each been predicted by an eclipse of the sun. "The Germans made war after the first and second eclipse," he noted, "and the Russians, after the third one—that is, the war that is now [1951] going on in Asia."

No information was obtained regarding the sun (except its eclipse) other than that it is man's friend. "All animals, too, like the sun; even the snake does so. A snake, if killed, will not die until sundown; it will take a last look at the sun, just as it sets, and die."

Both morning and evening stars were called *wapi'en* by all informants except Kolupan. Kolupan insisted that the evening star was known by the same name as dusk (*yépün*), and the morning star by the same name as dawn (*wün yelle*). Others agreed, "It is the same star; it is like the sun; it comes and goes."

Constellations identified by informants and sketched are shown in figure 8. They are the guanaco (*Fuan*); the rhea (*ñandú*); the lakedragon (*lakel*); crowned hide (*rekel trulke* or *rupul trulke*); and seven little geese, or hen and chicks (*pus chumpio* or *chawa achawall*). An elongated V was pointed out, but not identified. Kolupan could

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

821 not identify the Southern Cross by its name, but a diagram of it immediately brought a response: "That one? That one is called footprint of the rhea (ponon). The three upper stars are the toes; the lower one is the heel." Pointing at the sky where Orion could be

FIG. 8.—Constellations named by informants. Since informants, in describing the constellations, pointed to areas between zenith and 45° below zenith, it is possible that the names given in parentheses are the astronomical ones. *a*, Seven Hyde goats (a section of Pavo). *b*, A 3-balled boleadora (a section of Crux). *c*, Stretched hide (sections of Carina and Volans). *d*, Gamasto (a section of Centaurus). *e*, The foot of the rhea (Reticulum). *f*, Rhea (Grus). *g*, A 3-balled boleadora (Apus).

seen that night (November), he remarked, "We call those three stars potatoes in a hole (pal); the Argentines call them las tres Marías. The Milky Way was called the river (Fentú).

SIGNALING

202 According to a well-informed non-Araucanian, the Araucanians signaled by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and also by the

12: Faro E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

796 *Arumko* and *shompalwe* are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The *shompalwe* is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aerolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

372 763 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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several reservations which form traditional segments of the ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *füllatufe* (ideally, one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, preliminary ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is not common, even though it might even be understood beforehand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *füllatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *füllatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about details of the approaching ceremony. All *füllatun* that I observed were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason seems to have been that the connection between fertility, associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that the god of the moon (*kuyenfuchu*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *muday*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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796 782 brief prayer to Ñenechen and the generalized ancestors, the hawks of the sun. Then he bites into the heart and passes it to the one or more assisting *ülkantufe* on his right. Each official in turn offers the sheep's heart skyward, utters a short prayer, bites into the heart. The main priest then places the heart in the crotch of the *rewe*. His arms and face are smeared with blood, which he wipes off on the *rewe* pole and on the sacred branches surrounding it. The other officials do the same. A bowl of sheep's blood, collected from the throat incision, is placed at the right side of the altar, and from this bowl the *ülkantufe* occasionally asperses the *rewe* and the ritual fire (*llupe*) which burns near it. Some blood is also burned on the special fire ignited near the *llotü*, or secondary altar. When all this is accomplished, the *ülkantufe* commands that the in-place dancing begin.

Meanwhile, the carcass of the sheep is carried to the *llotü*, where it is skinned and quartered. The sheepskin is then [825] brought back and laid beside the *rewe*. A black skin, which calls [824] for rain, is placed to the left of the altar and a white skin, for sunny weather, is placed under the bowl of blood on the right. Some of the meat from the sheep is burned on the *llotü* fire. The head and feet of the animal are thrown into the fire in most cases and, if the people are not extremely poor in animals, most of the rest of the carcass is also burned. If they are poor in animals, most of the meat is taken off when cooked and then [769] consumed as part of a ritual feast. The smoke which rises to the sky is the morning offering to the ancestral spirits, for which the [792] *llotü* is a special altar. Around the *rewe*, the meat concern is for Ñenechen and the pantheon of minor gods, and the sacrifices are of a somewhat different order.

After the in-place dancing is completed, the *ülkantufe* starts the second stanza of prayer. This time he scatters grain, asking for abundant harvests. The grain is taken from one of several wooden bowls next to the *rewe*. Some of it is thrown on the *llupe* fire. Again, as the smoke rises, a short prayer is offered to [769] Ñenechen and the pantheon. Ancestors may not even be mentioned at this time. Most attention is given to the god and goddess of abundance, the *kupuke*.

The second in-place dance is performed to the commands of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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good and evil, there are other pairs of opposites which, while linked in Mapuche thinking, are not clearly good or evil, either to the Western mind or to the Mapuche themselves. Yet they are classifiable as either right- or left-hand symbols by analogy to the previous list, and by their relatively superior or inferior qualities as these are viewed by the Mapuche. Most of these entries have special significance for ritual occasions and, in this context, are commonly verbalized with regard to right-left associations.

TABLE II

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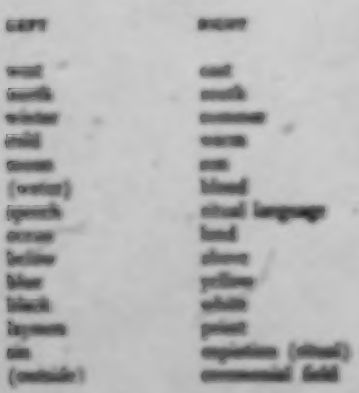

Table II concerns mostly natural elements and directions, as these are ordered into a dualistic scheme. These are earth, land, sacred soil, known and unknown land; sky, "heaven," and celestial bodies; colors. West, south, winter, cold, ocean, below. Moist, sin, and outside are all in some way connected to death and, therefore, analogically related to the evil forces which cause it and the leftness which symbolizes it. East, north, summer, warm, land, above, yellow, white, aspirations, altar, and ceremonial field are associated with good and the right hand. In some cases the association is direct and literal but, in all cases, these sets of opposing yet complementary values are analogically connected with right and left. Sun, blood, ritual speech, and priest are all associated positively with ancestral spirits and the

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nonuiafken* (*lafken:* ocean; *nune:* other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu:* above; *mapu:* land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female genses.

Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikurwin:* black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
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Pueiche SI10
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think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy.

Ab E 776 171

Not only the Abipones, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guaycurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichù. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubû. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

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